The Benevolence of America.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Monday, January 15th, is the fourth anniversary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who died for the Communist Cause.

Brothers! between you and me
Whirlwinds sweep and billows roar:
Yet in spirit oft I see
On thy wild and winding shore
Freedom's bloodless banners wave,
Feel the pulses of the brave
Unextinguished in the grave,—
See them drenched in sacred gore,—
Catch the warrior's gasping breath,
Murmuring "Liberty or death."

Shelley.

LINES FROM MATTHEW ARNOLD.

West London.

Crouch'd on the pavement, close by Belgrave Square,
A tramp I saw, ill, moody, and tongue-tied.
A babe was in her arms, and at her side
A girl; their clothes were rags, their feet were bare.

Some labouring men, whose work lay somewhere there,
Pass'd opposite; she touch'd her girl, who hied
Across, and begg'd, and came back satisfied.
The rich she had let pass with frozen stare.

Thought I: "Above her state this spirit towers;
She will not ask of aliens, but of friends,
Of sharers in a common human fate.

She turns from that cold succour, which attends.
The unknown little from the unknowing great,
And points us to a better time than ours."

IN PRISON.

By William Morris.

Wearily, dreamily,
Half the day long,
Flap the great banners
High over the stone;
Strangely and eerily
Sounds the wind's song,
Bending the banner poles.

While, all alone,
Watching the loophole's spark,
Lie I, with life all dark,
Feet tether'd, hands fetter'd
Fast to the stone,
The grim walls, square letter'd,
With prison'd men's groan.

Still strain the banner poles,
Through the wind's song,
Over my wrong.

The question of Capital and Labour growing ever more anarchic, insoluble altogether by the notions hitherto applied to it, is pretty certain to issue in petroleum one day.—Carlyle

The International Crisis.

THE NEED FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST POLICY.
FRENCH MARCH INTO RUHR.
BRITISH THREAT TO FIGHT TURKS FOR MOSUL OIL.

The Workers' International failed in 1914, when the great European War began.

It failed in 1917-18, when the Russian Revolution took place and the Capitalist Powers invaded revolutionary Russia.

It was the Second International which failed in those days. Now there are several Workers' Internationals. Will they all fail in this present crisis?

British Workers.

Will British engineers again bend themselves to war work; making shells for the British Government to use in Turkey and the French to use in the Ruhr? Will British railwaymen, dockers, seamen, and soldiers and sailors help on more Capitalist wars?

French Workers.

And the French? Will they march upon an unarmed people, able to oppose them only by the industrial means which the workers of all lands employ against their industrial oppressors?

German Workers.

And the Germans? Will they submit to the invader who comes to destroy what poor political liberties they have won for themselves, to destroy all vestiges of representative Government and to dictate legislation which shall depress their economic status to starvation-point and prevent by armed force all the palliatives of their hard lot which the workers might otherwise win for themselves from the native Capitalist?

The Workers' International.

The Workers' International should take action. It should stop the movement of British soldiers and sailors Eastward. It should stop the movement of French troops to the Ruhr. It were better that you should lie down before the trains French men and women than you should let your sons be carried to Germany to do this evil work. It were better, French railwaymen, that you should cut your hands off than assist in the transport. French workers, you should declare a general strike on this occasion.

There are several Internationals to-day, all calling themselves Socialist. Let them meet; the Second, the Two and a-Half, the Third, and the Fourth; all the various industrial Internationals; let them all meet in their own conclaves and act against these new wars. Even the smallest International, if it takes, or attempts to take, the true action, is the only real International; the International which, in time, will lead the workers to victory over Capitalism.

The Labour Party.

The British Labour Party and its allies have watched complacently the massing of naval and military forces to enforce the dictates of British Capitalist Imperialism in the East. They cried: "Not a ship, not a man not a gun," but they assisted in the transport of the ships, men and guns which terrorised the Turks into submitting to British control of the Straits. They have assisted the transport of the reinforcements which are designed to enforce the British claim to Mosul oil.

Will they, whilst shedding some crocodile tears, still remain complacent if and when the fighting out there begins, and when lads who were still at school in the last war are dying out there in the Dardanelles, which already has been the grave of so many British dead?

The working-class movement in this country to-day is drifting along in the wake of the Capitalist Parties, taking its cue from and moulding its policy to theirs, seeing the world through their eyes.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the leader of the Labour Party, is reported by the "Daily Herald" as making the following statement on the Reparations question and the present crisis:

Macdonald on Reparations.

"Mr. Ramsay Macdonald told a Press representative on Saturday that he still held to the views expressed by Labour three years ago, viz.:

(1) Reparations must be fixed quite definitely;

(2) they must be, both in amount and kind, such as Germany can bear, and the receiving countries assimilate;

(3) they ought not to be merely what Germany can pay, but what she can pay when she has recovered herself. Consequently, a moratorium is necessary.

"Lastly, we ought not to be ashamed to let the world know that we must look after our own national interests, and not sacrifice them merely to keep up the balance of an alliance with France, or any other country."

Our Answer.

In reply to Mr. Macdonald's first point, we must answer that the myth that Germany was more guilty of the war than the other nations is now exploded, and, therefore, there is no shadow of excuse for imposing an indemnity at all.

In reply to Mr. Macdonald's last statement that "we must look after our own national interests, we must answer that international Socialism transcends all national boundaries, and that the true interests of all people are international. "National interests" in most interests mean national Capitalist interests. We can neither identify ourselves with, nor seek to further, the interests of the ruling classes, since those interests are opposed to the real welfare of society as a whole.

Brailsford on Bonar Law's Plan.

The editor of the "New Leader," the Independent Labour Party organ, discusses the rival plans for the subjection of Germany of M. Poincaré and Mr. Bonar Law. He says of Mr. Bonar Law's plan:

"We differ from him, firstly, because on economic grounds we object to receiving an indemnity. . . . Further, we hold that two-thirds of our claim (for dependants'

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allowances) was a typical Georgian dishonesty. Lastly, there is danger in the plan of control and in the provision for the occupation of German territory should the debtor default, though in both these clauses Mr. Law was obviously seeking to propitiate the French."

Nevertheless, Mr. Brailsford declares that Mr. Bonar Law's plan is:

"The honest plan of a capable man of business for setting Germany on her feet and enabling her, after two years, to pay a reasonable sum in reparations."

Observe the general spirit of solidarity with the Tory Prime Minister and representative of Big Business expressed in these passages. The criticism is of that mild and genial character which would not be considered too strong or acrimonious in a party ally.

Bonar Law v. Poincare.

Yet the essential feature of the Bonar Law plan, like that of the Poincaré plan, is to set up and maintain by armed force a super-Government of foreign usurers in Berlin, which will enforce legislation upon the German people, which will tax them and dictate what they shall pay, what they shall spend, and dictate the form of their social organisation and their daily ways of life. That the super-Government of Bonar Law would include an American and a neutral, and be accorded a German chairman (who, being in a minority, will be powerless), are details that scarcely affect the central evils. It is noticeable, however, that Mr. Law's "honest plan" would, according to the French, give of the money wrung from Germany, £850,000,000 to Britain, and but little more, £950,000,000, to the French, although Britain has not France's wide devastated regions to repair.

"In the arrangements for control it [Mr. Law's plan] spares the self-respect of a great nation," says Mr. Brailsford. Let him tell that to the Germans; they will hardly receive the remark with cordiality.

"What To Do."

"What to do": the words nestle amongst Mr. Brailsford's sentences as a sub-heading. One's eye travels swiftly to it to discover the I.L.P. official policy. "What to do"; "What to do." Mr. Brailsford answers: "Repent," and adds:

"History, when it records how we disarmed Germany, and then allowed our Allies to oppress her, will not count this chapter among the glories of our time."

Is there no alternative save to accept the evil with repentant sighs?

Yes; we can fight the evil. If the policy of Communism were the policy of the organised workers of this country, of France and Germany, we should not fight in vain.

If the policy of the Fourth International, the policy of building up revolutionary workshop councils, instead of relying on the Trade Unions, had been followed by all Internationals, we should be prepared for this struggle. In Germany even the Third International, though hitherto it has opposed such councils, is realising that something of the sort must be resorted to; but its action in that respect is belated, and at the best half-hearted. A great impetus will now be given to the All-Workers' Union of Revolutionary Workshop Committees.

As it is, we must yet make what efforts we may to bring the others to our view.

Our call is still to the workers to fraternise and to make common cause against their bellicose oppressors.

We send our fraternal greetings to the workers of Germany and Turkey, saying we at least will take no part in the fight against you; we at least will endeavour to dissuade others from fighting you.

We send our greetings to the workers of France, saying help your German brothers.

To the workers of our own land we say: Do not be the instruments of our oppressors, but unite with the other workers of the world, and do immediately the practical thing that is required here: form workshop committees for action.

THE MINERS.

By Emile Zola.

At the Maheu's they always went to bed half-an-hour later now. Etienne there harped on the same string every evening. His nature, becoming more refined, revolted against the promiscuous herding prevalent in the miners' village. Were they then so much cattle to be penned up like that? And what injury it did to health, and how many boys and girls forcibly went to the bad through it!

The topic, once started, everyone put in a word, while the fumes of the lamp vitiated the atmosphere, already laden with the smell of fried onions. Assuredly life was a trial under such conditions. They laboured like brutes at a task which had formerly been reserved for galley-slaves as a punishment. They lost their lives at it more frequently than was right, and after all they could not manage to have a bit of meat for dinner of an evening. No doubt they had the food they ate, but so little, just enough to keep them from dying of starvation, and they were always burdened with debt, and harassed as if they stole their bread. No, indeed, there was nothing funny in all that.

Then La Maheude would join in: "The worst, you see, is when one knows there's no chance of a change. As long as one's young, one always thinks that luck will change—there's always some hope. But luck never does change, and one gets disgusted, but used to it. I wish no harm to anybody, but my blood boils sometimes at the idea of all this injustice."

Next a pause would ensue; they all silently panted whilst vaguely fretting at their cramped horizon. The only one who stared with wonder was old Jollycorpse, if he happened to be there, for in his time people had not worried themselves about such things. Folk were then born among the coal, and plied their picks without bothering about aught else; whereas at present the wind blew from another quarter, the pitmen were getting ambitious.

"You shouldn't turn your noses up at anything," he would murmur. "A good mug of beer is a good mug of beer. The masters are often scoundrels, but there will always be masters, ain't that so? It's of no use worrying one's head about these things."

At this Etienne would blaze up. What! The workman hadn't the right to think? That was just it. Things would change before long, because nowadays the workmen did think. In the old man's time the miner had lived in the mine like a brute, like a machine to provide coal, always below, with his ears and eyes shut to the outside world. As a matter of course, the rich who ruled him had then had every opportunity to buy and sell him, feed upon his flesh and blood; he wasn't as much as aware of it. But nowadays the miner was waking up below, germinating in the soil like grain; and one fine morning the world would see what would suddenly sprout up amidst the fields; yes, men would come forth, an army of men who would restore justice. Were not all citizens equal since the Revolution? Seeing that they all of them voted, why should the workman be the slave of the master who paid him? At present the big companies, with their machinery, crushed down everything, and one no longer had against them the guarantees of olden times, when all men of the same trade had combined to defend themselves. It was on account of all this, and for other reasons besides, that there would be a crash one day, thanks to education. Why, they had only to look round in their own village; the grandfathers could not have signed their own names, the fathers already did so; and as for the sons, they could read and write like professors. Yes, the revolution was growing, growing little by little, a wonderful harvest of men was ripening in the sunshine! The moment folk were no longer nailed, as it were, in one position for a whole lifetime, the moment they could indulge in the ambition of taking their neighbours' places, why should they not make use of their limbs and endeavour to become the stronger?

Maheu, although somewhat shaken, was nevertheless wanting in confidence.

"The moment a man attempts to stir he gets his discharge," he would observe. "The old fellow's right; the pitman will always have the worst of it, without even the hope of a leg of mutton now and then by way of reward."

After being silent for some minutes, La Maheude seemed to awake from a dream.

"If it were only true what the priests say, that the poor of this world will be rich in the next!"

A loud burst of laughter interrupted her; even the children shrugged their shoulders at this, they were all unbelievers in the light of day; down below they secretly feared the bogey-man, but they made merry over the empty heavens.

"Don't bother me with your priests!" Maheu exclaimed. "If they believed what they say, they would eat less and work more, so as to secure a good berth for themselves up above. No; when a man's dead, he's dead for good."

La Maheude then sighed desperately. "Ah! good Lord! Ah! good Lord!" And letting her hands drop in her lap with a gesture of utter despair, "So it's true, then; we're all done for."

"More gobwebs," the young man would say. "Do you want a paradise to be happy? Can't you create happiness on earth?"

And in ardent tones he held forth interminably. The narrow horizon expanded—a rift of light burst upon the melancholy existence of those poor people. The perpetual recurrence of wretchedness, their crushing labour, their destiny akin to that of the brute beast which yields its wool and is slaughtered afterwards—all their unhappiness disappeared, swept away by a great wave of sunshine; and amidst fairylike radiance justice at last descended from heaven. Justice would assuredly ensure the happiness of mankind by inaugurating a reign of equality and fraternity. A new social structure sprang up in a day, as in a dream, an immense city of indescribable splendour, where each citizen lived by his labour and took his share of common happiness. The old and corrupt world had fallen into dust; new humanity, purged of crime, was but one sole people of workers having for its motto: "Each one according to his merit and his works." And the vision ever grew larger and more beautiful, becoming more and more seductive even as it became more and more impossible.

At first La Maheude refused to listen, being stricken with vague terror. No, no, all this was too good to be true; one ought not to give way to such ideas, for they made life unbearable afterwards, and one would stop at nothing to obtain the happiness that had been held out to one. When she saw Maheu impressed, won over, with glistening eyes, she became very uneasy, and, interrupting Etienne, exclaimed: "Don't you heed him, old man! You can see that he's telling us fairy-tales. Just as if the gentry would ever consent to work like we do."

But little by little the charm worked upon her also. Her imagination became excited, and she listened with a smile, as she crossed the threshold of the enchanted world of hope. It was so sweet to forget, if but for one hour, the sad reality! Living the brute life they did, a stretch of fancy became necessary, so that they might enjoy a vision of things that they would never possess. But what excited her most, what brought her to full agreement with the young man, was the idea of justice.

"You're right there," she would exclaim. When a thing is fair and just I'd be killed for it. And, really, it would only be just to have some enjoyment in our turn."

Then Maheu flared up: "Thunder of heaven! I'm not rich, but I'd give five francs to see all this come to pass before I die. What a smash up it will be, to be sure! Will it come soon, and how will it be managed?"

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS

Breslau, March 24th, 1918.

My Dear Sonitschka,—How long it is since I last wrote you, and how often I have found myself thinking about you in these times! The "happenings" are managing to rob me of the desire to write. . . . To be together now, strolling through the meadows, talking "de omnibus rebus," would do us a lot of good; but there is not the slightest chance of that at present. My grievance is met with a thorough description of my wickedness and incorrigibility, and a request for at least a short furlough receives the same fate. So I suppose I must wait until we conquer the whole world.

Sonjuscha, when I don't hear from you for a long time I have a feeling that you are roaming about down there alone, restless, annoyed and in doubt, tossed about like a leaf in the teeth of the wind, and I am greatly put out. Now just listen a minute. Spring has now set in once again, the days are getting bright and long, and out in the open country there is already much to see and hear, surely! Do go out a lot, the sky is now so interesting, the restless clouds chasing each other give it such a variety of aspects that the still barren chalky earth must be wonderful in the changing light. Look at it for me until you have a surfeit of it all. . . . It is the only thing in life that one cannot have too much of, that always gives one the sense of newness that can always be relied on. And you must be sure to go to the Botanic Gardens for me, in order to give me information about a certain matter. For something quite remarkable is happening this spring: the birds have all arrived, 1—1½ months too soon. The nightingale was here on March 10th already; the wryneck, that doesn't come till the end of April, was already making its laugh heard on the 15th; and even the thrush, that is called the "Whitsun-bird," and which never comes before May, has already been piercing the greyness of dawn with its song for more than a week already! I can hear them all singing in the distance, somewhere in the grounds of the lunatic asylum. I don't know how to explain this early return home, and would like to know whether the same thing has been observed elsewhere, or whether it can only be put down to the influence of the mad-house. So go into the Botanic Gardens, Sonitschka, but it must be about noon on a sunny day, and listen carefully so as to give me a good report. That, together with the result of the battle of Cambrai, is for me the most important thing on earth, quite an affair of the heart.

What beautiful pictures you sent me! With regard to the Rembrandt there is, of course, nothing to say. In the Titian I was even more greatly struck by the horse than by the rider; that so much genuine majestic strength and distinction could be expressed in an animal I would not have believed possible. But far away the best of all is the portrait of a woman by Bartolomeo da Venetia (whose works, by the way, I was not acquainted with). What joy in colour, what delicacy of line, what magic power of expression! In some infinite way I see in it something that reminds me of the Mona Lisa. With these pictures, you have brought into my cell a wealth of light and gladness.

Hans' book you must, of course, keep; I don't like to think that all his books are not in our hands. I had rather have given them to you than to anyone else. Did you get the Shakespeare all right? What has Karl to say in his letters? When will you be seeing him again? Give him my very kindest regards, and tell him from me: Ca ira—in spite of all. And keep buoyant and jolly yourself, and enjoy the spring: the next one we shall spend together. Fond embrace, my dearest. Happy Easter to you! Remember me to the children! Your ROSA.

. . . . . .

Breslau, May 2nd, 1918.

. . . I have read Candide and the Countess Ulfeldt, and like them both. It is such an extra fine edition of Candide that I couldn't bring myself to cut the pages open, and so I read it as I got it; as it is in demy 8vo., I managed it fine. This malicious collection of every human misery would, before the war, have probably given me the impression of a caricature; now I regard it as a piece of realism. . . . Finally, I have at last found out where the saying comes from: "Mais il faut cultiver notre jardin," that I have myself often used. The Countess Ulfeldt is an interesting culture document, a supplement to Grimmelhausens. . . . What are you doing? Aren't you enjoying the glorious spring weather? Always yours, ROSA.

ON THE RAND.

By Isaac Yermont.

Comrade Garnsworthy and seven other members of the Brakpan Commando have been found guilty, and sentenced to death. The result was a foregone conclusion.

The Judge-President, Sir Dove Wilson, said: "If what has been done was just what anybody engaged in illegal combination would know would be the obvious probable result, then all were responsible."

On this ground all the accused were sentenced to death, though five were explicitly recommended to the mercy of the Crown.

The Judge-President was clear that the crime of murder was not proved against any of the accused, "in so far as the accusation was based upon individual liability for individual acts."

That is to say, the Court was not prepared to find either Garnsworthy or any of those indicted with him, directly guilty of actually committing these crimes. They were all guilty, however, of having the courage to put up a fight for their rights against the Chamber of Mines.

Whilst the Judge-President was pronouncing the sentences, the chief Crown witness, Ferreira, the man who turned King's evidence against Garnsworthy, endeavoured to mount the stand.

"My Lord," cried Ferreira, ashen pale, leaning forward, and gesticulating towards the Bench, but he was seized by the police and bundled out of the Court.

It was rumoured in Court that Ferreira was about to make a confession; but as the whole trial had been predetermined he was not allowed a hearing, as a confession at that stage would have upset all the arrangements.

Garnsworthy was also immediately on his feet, and leaned over his fellow-prisoners in the front row of the dock. Pointing to Ferreira, he cried:

"Listen to the murderer! Here he is!"

Women's voices piped from the rear of the Court:

"So he is," was heard about the excited murmur.

"They are the men who are swearing away my life to-day, and they are responsible for my soul," cried another prisoner, pointing to the Crown witnesses.

Instantly there was an uproar; police and detectives were everywhere. There was great commotion. Judges rising from their seats, pandemonium reigned in Court.

The conclusion of the Judge-President's summing up is commended to the careful attention of every worker:

"I hope that this most lamentable trial will serve the good purpose of instilling into the minds of men and women that, no matter how just they might think their cause, no matter how just, indeed, it might be, the Court is not concerned with whether it was just or unjust; and if they combine in a movement to enforce their cause, they must realise that they do so at the risk, if they are proved to have taken part, of having their own lives declared forfeit by the law."

There are about fifty more men on the Rand over whose heads hangs the threat of death. Not enough have been killed or hanged to satiate the fury of the Chamber of Mines. The policy of assuaging the bitterness in the aftermath does not appeal to the Smuts Government; it prefers to increase the bitterness.

SPICE.

"O dear Mother Outline, of wisdom most sage,
What's the first part of painting?" She said:
"Patronage."
"And what is the second to please and engage?"
She frowned like a fury, and said:
"Patronage."
"And what is the third?" She put off old age,
And smiled like a siren, and said:
"Patronage."

William Blake.

* * *

Since Life is rough,
Sing smoothly, O Bard.
Enough, enough,
To have found Life is hard!

No record Art keeps
Of her travail and throes.
There is toil on the steeps
On the summits repose.

William Watson.

* * *

"The two million men sitting in Poor-Law bastilles seem to ask every English soul: 'Hast thou no word to say for us?'"—Carlyle.

* * *

"Old age is not in itself matter for sorrow. It is matter for thanks if we have left our work done behind us."—Carlyle.

* * *

In 1755 Merthyr Tydvil was a mountain hamlet of five or six houses, stagnant and silent as it had ever been since Tydvil, the king's or laird's daughter, was martyred here, say 1,300 years before. About that time a certain Mr. Bacon, a cunning Yorkshireman, passing that way, discovered that there was iron in the ground—iron and coal. He took a 99 years' lease in consequence, and—in brief, there are now about 50,000 grimy mortals, black and clammy with soot and sweat, screwing out a livelihood for themselves in that spot of the Taff Valley. Such a set of unguided, hard-worked, fierce, and miserable sons of Adam I never saw before. Ah me! It is like a vision of hell, and will never leave me, that of these poor creatures broiling, all in sweat and dirt, amid their furnaces, pits, and rolling mills. (1850.)—Carlyle.

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Our View.

The British Legion.

THE "Daily Herald," after opening its columns to an attack on the British Legion, has since published a number of letters approving it. There can be no doubt that the promoters of the Legion will use it, so far as they are able, in opposition to Socialism. Many of those who have received charity from it may prove useless to the purposes of its promoters, but so far as it is an active force at all, we must count it as a reactionary force. The "Daily Herald" editor is not a Socialist; he has no sense of class solidarity with those who toil. Therefore he frequently takes up an attitude of cordiality, or at least of impartiality, towards forces which are definitely working towards the further oppression of the workers, and the further buttressing of the Capitalist system and the domination of the very rich.

A case in point was his article expressing admiration of Mussolini. An Italian Member of Parliament of the Socialist Right Wing recently called on the editor of the "Daily Herald," expressing regret that the British Labour organ should be so ill-informed on the subject of the Fascisti, who have concentrated the full fury of their violence on the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies of Italy. The offer of the Italian Member of Parliament to write some articles on the doings of the Fascisti was accepted. He wrote them most mildly, with due regard to the backwardness of the "Herald" editor. Nevertheless, though he thought he had been too kind towards the Fascisti, the articles were refused, on the score of being too strong in their attack.

* * *

The Jungle Instinct.

A CHAPLAIN OF NORWICH PRISON has enunciated some truths regarding the Capitalist system which are well worth recording:

> "I am sure that the economic struggle brings out of the very depths of the human soul a primeval jungle instinct under which a man's finer feelings go down, and for a time he sees red, and, as likely as not, commits an offence for which he undergoes a lifelong remorse. . . . The economic condition of the world drives men into crime. Particularly is this the case when a man has already been convicted.
>
> "To leave prison with no home and no work, and only sufficient money—probably a grant from the Prisoners' Aid Society—to last a few days, is to undergo a test of character and grit that will try the best of men."

The chaplain is right, but will he now work against the system?

Inevitable results of the system are such cases as that of the woman receiver of stolen coats who was sentenced to two months' hard labour at Glamorgan Quarter Sessions, the other day, whilst her sixteen-year-old son begged to go to prison in her stead. The chaplain's words are well illustrated also by the case of Montagu Sharpe, sentenced to four years' penal servitude for theft the other day, who was sent to a reformatory at eleven years of age, and had been twelve times to prison since. The seventeen-year-old lad, a widow's son, whom Lord Alners sentenced to five years' imprisonment for embezzling some of the rents he was employed to collect, will join the army of waifs whom the system has destroyed.

* * *

Fascisti Abolish Italian Rent Act.

THE DICTATORIAL POWERS of the Mussolini Government have been still further exercised in the publication of a decree abolishing the Italian Rent Act, which prevented the raising of rents and limited the eviction of tenants. Boards of arbitration are to be constituted in each ward to decide whether contracts duly entered into may continue for another term of one or two years. Presumably, in accordance with the usual Fascist policy, these boards will be manned by the Fascisti, who may be trusted to see that they themselves secure the preference, and their opponents given short shrift in the matter of housing accommodation. The Fascisti Terror is, indeed, the most accomplished thing of its kind; it is constantly inventing new modes of torture.

* * *

The Fascisti and the Church.

THAT THE CHURCH should support the Fascisti is not surprising. The Fascisti have arisen to protect the established Order. The established Church has always adhered to the established Order. The Church found its property menaced by the French Revolution, and became the bitter enemy of the Revolution. Men of property in the Church make common cause with men of property outside.

* * *

Bernard Shaw and the Houses of Parliament.

MR. BERNARD SHAW would have been better advised, in our opinion, to direct his attack upon those monstrosities, the moving electric advertisements, which are gradually spreading over the faces of London buildings, than against the top story of the House of Commons and the jumble of statuary in Westminster Abbey. The rage of the advertising community might be roused against the Labour Party if it were to make the prohibition of electric signs a part of its programme for the L.C.C. elections; but repose-loving people would be grateful if such action could bring relief.

When we consider the House of Commons, however, it is not any architectural defects in the building that houses it which occur to us, but its own inherent structural defects.

* * *

Parliament and Its Defects.

PARLIAMENT is popularly supposed to govern this country. As a matter of fact, the main business of government is carried on by the private persons who own the land and control production, distribution and transport. The employers of labour, and the private purveyors of food, clothes, housing, light, fuel, the means of travel, books, periodicals, and the various entertainments, have a far larger power in dictating how the mass of people shall live, and even what sort of people they shall be, than Parliament ever has had or can have.

Parliament is outside the main stream of the business of life; it only sticks a tentative oar into the current here and there.

It is the work of Parliament to intervene when those who are carrying on the main business of life are jostling each other so rudely that even the very obtuse sensibilities of these times are too grossly offended thereby. Since those in possession of wealth control it, Parliament, that oratorical institution, considers intervention whenever there appears any danger that the privileged classes may be disturbed by the mob to be its most important mission.

One of the duties of Parliament is to prevent (both for sentimental and utilitarian reasons) any considerable number of persons being directly starved to death. There is a constant likelihood that large numbers of persons will perish from want in this precarious social system. Therefore Parliament has had to devise and uphold means for maintaining numerous institutions, which can be called in to assist the destitute by doles large enough to maintain life, but not so large as to encourage refusal to remain, or to become on demand, a hired worker for the possessors of capital.

One of the duties of Parliament is to devise and maintain means for deterring the destitute from revolt against want, and refusal to starve in a land of plenty.

Another duty is that of ensuring that neither the employers, the needy workers themselves, nor the parents of child workers, shall drive the working class so hard, in pursuit of money, that its vitality may be so wastefully expended as to threaten an inconvenient reduction of population or working power. In the United States the race for the almighty dollar is so swift and fierce that Government largely fails to perform its office in this respect, and America reduces her working population so rapidly that she may be likened to a bottomless pit, into which new immigrant labourers must constantly be poured.

It is for such palliative work, which proceeds but slowly, owing to the interminable debates and clash of interests, that Parliament is alone fitted.

* * *

When the Change Comes.

WHEN production, transport and distribution are no longer carried on by private owners and their hired labourers, this work of palliating the evils and minimising the conflicts of the present system, which to-day is all that employs Parliament, will come to an end. When its functions die Parliament will also disappear. Production, transport and distribution will, of course, continue, but under other auspices. When the great change to Communism comes about, such social organisations as exist will themselves undertake the main business of life. The owners and their hired, largely unwilling, servants will be substituted by the free, voluntary producers, supplying the people's needs, not for profit, but as a common duty, arising from the fact that mankind must be fed, clothed, housed, educated, and entertained.

* * *

Structural Parliament's Incapacity.

"INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS will arise out of Parliament," cry the devoted Parliamentarians, when warned that Parliament will have no work to do when the Capitalist system no longer remains to require its palliative offices. They direct our attention to the Post Office: "Parliament has a department for carrying letters: it may have a department for baking bread." To be sure, Parliament has its departments, and so have the municipalities; but are these departments such as we should desire to find in the Communist fraternity? Certainly not. Consider the Postmaster-General, who secured election to Parliament because he had the gift of glib speech to crowds, and, above all, a sufficiently powerful Party behind him to put posters on the walls, and to send many canvassers into the streets. Having secured election to Parliament, he obtained Cabinet rank, through family influence, or other powerful backing, as well as the capacity for serving his backers. Having become a Cabinet Minister, he is given one of the offices such Ministers hold, and so becomes the head of a great Department of which he knows nothing; to the work of which he was never trained.

He does not remain long in that position. The business is directed by permanent officials, whom he is obliged, in the main, to obey, because they are informed and he is not, and who also secured their positions largely through influences not connected with their capacity for the actual work in hand.

The bulk of the work is done by hired servants whose status, in essentials, does not differ from those employed in Capitalist enterprises. They have no stake in the concern, no security of tenure, no voice in the management, no power to choose their work or the persons who are appointed to direct it.

It is not thus that the socialised industries will be administered when Capitalism disappears.

Consider further the position of a Member of Parliament, elected to represent a constituency of many thousand persons. To-day in Parliament his business is to follow his Party in the Division Lobby, to speak in support of his Party policy, and perhaps to put down some questions regarding the grievances of some individual constituents in the matter of pensions, and so on.

If the social organism were ministering to the real needs of the people; if it were organising production, distribution and transport, everyone would comprehend immediately that a single Member of Parliament, however versatile, could not possibly render service in regard to all the varied industries of the district, and that the work of organising the industries must be carried on, not by persons chosen at large, but by the people actually engaged in the industry, who have learnt its needs by daily, practical experience.

* * *

The Soviets Organise the Work.

PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION AND TRANSPORT will be organised under Communism by those who do the work. They will meet, in committee, if you will, to discuss the needs of the work. They will have centres for collecting and distributing both raw material and technical information. Their organisation will be built up and developed in accordance with the necessities of production and consumption. Such managers or organisers as they may require they will elect from amongst themselves.

The removal of want and the abolition of economic inequalities will enable the new system to work in a harmony never possible to the old.

That is the indispensable key to the question.

* * *

The Haves versus the Have Nots.

THE UNEMPLOYED still plead in vain with the indifference of society and the stubborn greed of the very rich. The marchers come to London, ill fed and ill clad, with broken boots, some of them collapsing from weakness and fatigue, which has developed into serious illness. They are housed as a make-shift, sleeping on chairs or floors, without mattresses, in cold baths, and churches. People hand up pound notes to the organisers of Trafalgar Square meetings, or throw silver and copper on to the plinth, and then go home—thankful that they are not such as these. Well-to-do Tories and carping critics regard the marchers with disgust. "What good can they do by coming here? Why didn't they stay where they were, instead of putting the expense of their keep on to us?" The more ignorant fling the taunt: "Why don't you get a job?"

And it goes on, and will go on; it is three years now since some of these men and women became the unemployed.

They are demanding that the Prime Minister shall see them; and that Parliament shall meet a few weeks before the appointed time. Everyone knows that these are merely devices for agitation. The workless must look for aid to the pressure which they and the rest of the working class can bring to bear upon the Government and the very rich who stand behind them.

The unemployed are asking that they shall not be left out of the social scheme. The iron law of supply and demand leaves them to starve when no one finds it profitable to employ them. The unemployed are asking that work shall be found, whether a profit can be made or not; or, alternatively, that they shall be paid as much as if they were in employment. Capitalist economists refuse to admit that claim, and Capitalist economists control the purse strings.

Yet the claim of the unemployed is not a claim for the destruction or radical alteration of the system. We believe that their claim to work or "adequate maintenance" will never be admitted under Capitalism; we do not believe their claim to be a short cut to better things for them. We believe that the shortest way is the straight way to a radical change of system.

* * *

Hangings and Shootings.

NEWS IS SCARCE; Parliament is up, and the wars East and West have not yet come to a head: the Ilford murder has been exploited to the full as sensational news which will sell the papers. The agitation to save the lives of the two accused contrasted grimly with the apathy which has greeted the executions of the South African strikers and the Irishmen who are guilty of struggling to obtain freedom from the domination of Capitalist Empire rule.

Mr. J. R. Macdonald wrote in the "Daily Herald":

> "Every decent person must protest against society being further injured in those delicately poised emotions where madness and divinity come so closely in contact, by the unloosing of the mad brute of passion and the senseless appeal to animal cruelty as a protection, which will take place on Tuesday morning."

Yes, yes, it is true; but we looked in vain for a word from Mr. Macdonald when the two soldier lads, who knew that death awaited them, shot one with whom they had no personal quarrel, but whom they believed to be responsible for the Ulster pogroms and an enemy of their race. We looked in vain for a protest when the strikers in the great South African Labour struggle met their end as heroes in the people's cause, singing the Red Flag even on the brink of the scaffold. Men like these come very near what is called divinity in such moments.

As for the Ilford story, we again register our view that the solution to all such tragedies is the dissolution of the antiquated marriage laws and the substitution of union by consent which may be ended at will. Such unions will not be general until the economic system is changed.

* * *

Nowhere to Live.

ANOTHER EX-SOLDIER has been brought before the Court for occupying a hut unfit for human habitation. Unable to find a home during four years, this man, C. H. Weller, of Ashford, had built a hut, and lived in it for two years with his wife and two children.

* * *

The Bethnal Green Gas Tragedy.

SO CAPITALISM turns out to be to blame also for the Bethnal Green gas tragedy, in which people died through an escape in a broken gas main in the street outside, who were not even able to afford the luxury of gas in their houses. Why is Capitalism to blame for this tragedy? Because the quest for more profits has induced gas companies to alter the composition of domestic gas and to render it more dangerous. When gas was first used for domestic purposes it contained only a small proportion of the colourless odourless carbon monoxide which causes gas to poison, instead of merely suffocating—a much longer process, and less likely to be deadly. In order to make more profits, gas-makers have taken to diluting their coal-gas with "water-gas," which contains approximately 46 per cent. of carbon monoxide; and under the Gas Regulation Act of 1920 there is no restriction of the proportion to which dilution may be made.

* * *

The Indian Councils Split.

IT IS A CHEERING SIGN that the majority of the movement for Indian freedom has decided not to promote candidatures for the tame legislative councils set up by the British Government. The movement has been split by those who desire to take part in the councils, but it is the smaller part which has adopted this retrograde policy. The choice which the Indian Nationalists have had to make is in reality that of the Communist who has to decide whether to participate in Parliamentary Government under Capitalism, or to abstain and work directly for the Soviets. Those who adopt the latter alternative have set their feet on the high road to Communism, whilst the Parliamentarians still wander along reformist by-ways.

* * *

The Proposed Labour Club.

YOU and we, fellow-workers, will hardly be able to afford membership of the new Labour Club for which Mr. Henderson is collecting, since the subscription for London members will be £3 3s. a year, £4 4s. with the addition of a wife, and £1 1s. for country members, or £1 11s. if one makes one's wife a member also. The charges will be 6/- for bed and breakfast, and 10/6 if the wife is with one.

This new Labour Club will by no means approximate to those People's Houses which the Fascisti have destroyed so ruthlessly in Italy: indeed no; this is not to be a People's House, but a Parliamentary Club. Hush! Hush! fellow-worker: this is all a part of the United Front.

* * *

Irish Labour Party and Parliamentarism

THAT THE IRISH LABOUR MOVEMENT should set up the Soviets during the civil war, and maintain them as the rival of the Dail till they grow strong enough to supersede the Dail was always our opinion. A resolution of Kildare workers has now been sent to the Irish Labour Party, calling upon it to withdraw its members from the Dail on account of the Free State Government's treatment of prisoners and its war on the Republicans, in order to maintain the Treaty with Britain. Mr. Tom L. Johnson, the secretary of the Labour Party, replies deprecating some of the actions of the Government, but supporting them in their determination to put down rebellion against the Treaty.

In regard to Parliamentarism, Mr. Johnson says:

> "We have decided to use Parliamentary machinery for carrying out the will of the people. If, after trial, this machinery proves a failure, then will be the time to talk of withdrawing from Parliament."

Parliament is no new institution: it has existed in many countries for many hundred years. Mr. Johnson and the Irish Labour Party should surely be able, at this stage, to consider whether they regard the Parliamentary system of Government as the best.

We should like to ask Mr. Johnson whether he considers that Parliament will survive under Socialism, or whether he believes that it will disappear and that the Soviets will arise to establish the new order and to organise production, transport and distribution for the common weal.

We also inquire of Mr. Johnson whether he is prepared to stand by whilst the weak Capitalism of Ireland to-day grows till it becomes like the strong Capitalism of Britain, before he and his party proceed to make any direct efforts to establish the Workers' Socialist Republic in Ireland?

These are the questions which should be agitating the Reds in Ireland to-day.

Up the Irish Soviets!

* * *

Machinery while the Fields Lie Fallow. Storing

A FRANCO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT to exchange French agricultural machinery, motor lorries, and so on, for Russian raw material, is reported between "Arcos" and a French Capitalist group comprising Creuset, Berlieux, Bargeuignan, and others. Truly Russia requires agricultural machinery and means of transport: these are one of her greatest needs. Let these things be hurried to Russia with all speed: the need of millions of suffering humanity demands it! It is surprising to observe from the "Manchester Guardian Commercial's" special correspondent this statement:

" The French group places at the disposal of Arcos an unlimited quantity of agricultural implements and machinery, motor lorries, and so forth, **which are to be stored and gradually sold in Russia,** through the agency and under the responsibility of Arcos."

Can this be true? Must the people of Russia wait for the machinery that will save life till they can pay for it?

The French Trust grants credit for a year, it is said, during which there is to be a gradual supply of raw materials, the balance to be made up in cash at the end of the year. One would imagine it easier to supply that raw material in the year by setting the machinery to work at once; but the new economic system has been established, and Russia goes back to the ways of Capitalism, in this, as in other respects.

ESPERANTO.

LESSON 3.

Let us summarise what we have learnt so far. We need no longer hesitate to use grammatical terms, because their meaning should be clear to those who have followed the previous lessons.

A noun ends in o; e.g., libro, a book; floro, a flower.

The plural is formed by adding j (pronounced like y).

Libroj (pronounced lee-broy) books.

Floroj (pronounced flor-roy) flowers.

An adjective ends in a; e.g., bela, beautiful; granda, big, great.

The adjective also takes the plural form when its noun is in the plural; thus:

Belaj floroj, beautiful flowers; grandaj ĉambroj, big rooms.

Verbs.

Parolas, speaks.

Marŝas (pronounce mar-shahss) marches, walks.

Demandas (pronounce day-mahn-dahss) asks.

Staras, stands.

Kuŝas (pronounce koo-shahss), lies.

Laboras (pronounce lah-bor-ahss), works.

Legas, reads.

Iras, goes.

Flugas, flies.

Diras, says.

Kantas, sings.

Komprenas, understands.

Memoras, remembers.

Forgesas, forgets.

All these words express an action or state: or, in other words, what a thing (or person) **does** or **in what state it exists.** They are called verbs. Their function is shown in the typical examples:

La homo parolas, the man (human being) speaks.

La homo staras, the man stands.

Use the following nouns with the above verbs where possible:

La homo, man (human being).

La knabo, the boy.

La knabino, the girl.

La viro, the man (the male).

La virino, the woman (the female).

La hundo, the dog.

La kato, the cat.

Sinjoro (sin-yor-oh), gentleman, sir.

Sinjorino, lady, madam.

Espero, hope.

Mondo, world.

Translate: La knabo marŝas. La homo parolas. La viro forgesas. La virino memoras. La birdo kantas. La birdo flugas. La knabo legas.

La Komunismo estas la espero de l'mondo

TO SEAMEN AND TRAVELLERS.

Seamen and other comrades from overseas should call at the "Dreadnought" office. The Australian Seamen's Journal and other Colonial, American, French, Dutch, German, Italian, Bulgarian papers, etc., may be obtained there.

***The Karmi*, a monthly journal, advocates the cause of Labour in India. Published by the Employees' Association, at No. 72 Canning Street, Calcutta, Post Box No. 2852.**

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Fellow-worker,—I was much pleased to see that you published in the columns of the "Workers' Dreadnought" a copy of the manifesto to boycott American goods until the 64 members of the I.W.W. are released by the American authorities.

A copy of the manifesto was also sent to the Communist Party of Great Britain for publication, but they, as was expected, demonstrated their class-solidarity by failing to give publicity to it.

What excuse have the so-called revolutionaries to offer? Was the manifesto in any way in opposition to the principles for which the Communist Party say they stand? Or did the fact of the prisoners being members of the I.W.W. influence them in their action? The Communist Party of Great Britain claims to be a party of Internationalists, and the friends of all oppressed workers; therefore, what is the reason for their failure to give publicity?

The answer can only be given by the super-intellectual "Stiffs" of the King Street Soviet (?), but whatever their objections to the manifesto may be, the members of the Communist Party should not only insist that the manifesto go in the columns of the "Communist," but should themselves lead the boycott by refusing to buy any goods manufactured in U.S.A. or by American concerns in this country.

I await with great interest the reply, if any, to this letter. I enclose also a further resolution, and should be grateful if you would publish it.

Yours for industrial freedom,

N. G. SODERBERG.

RESOLUTION

Carried at the 14th Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, held in Emmets Memorial Hall, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., December 1922. (Against, 313; for, 649.)

"Whereas, the industrial workers of the world, as a revolutionary organisation of the world-wide proletariat, believes in and constantly strives to bring about the international solidarity of Labour, and

"Whereas, there exist in Europe two nucleii for Internationals,* one at Moscow and the other at Berlin, with differences that prevent their consolidation into one International, and

"Whereas, the Industrial Workers of the World is not in such agreement with one or the other of these Internationals that it could affiliate with either without forfeiting fundamental principles—making more difficult their unification and lessening the chances for the international solidarity of Labour, and

"Whereas, we feel the necessity of constantly keeping in close friendly touch with our European fellow-proletarians, to the end that a greater and better understanding of our common problem, and of the duties and responsibilities in all the countries of the world may be arrived at, thus laying the basis upon which a real International for world Labour may be constructed.

"Be it resolved, that we do not send any delegate to any International at the present time, and

"Be it further resolved, by this the 14th Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, that we instruct the General Executive Board of the I.W.W. to open and maintain, through correspondence, such friendly intercourse with both these Internationals as will keep the workers of Europe and America, and the Labour Movements of Asia, Australasia and Africa fully informed upon Labour developments in both hemispheres, and pave the way for the International through which the interests of the Workers of the World shall find true and effective expression."

* The Internationals here referred to are the Red International of Labour Unions and the Syndicalist International.

BOYCOTT.

In Chicago's darkened dungeons,
For the O.B.U.,
Remember you're outside for us,
While we're in here for you.

Fellow-workers of Britain,—

Sixty-four members of the I.W.W. are still kept in the unsanitary dungeons of the United States, serving sentences of from **5 to 25 years'** hard labour for their anti-war opinions.

Two of these fellow-workers are slowly dying as a result of bad treatment in gaol These two cannot be saved now, but the rest can if you want them to live. Remember that these men are in there solely because they tried to organise their own class.

If these fellow-workers are allowed to rot in the American dungeons without protest from organised Labour in this country, they will be shamefully betrayed by their own class, and you, fellow-workers of Britain, will be just as responsible for their fate as the masters.

Seamen and Dockers,—

You are able to give the first aid, fellow-workers of Britain, in the fight for their release by boycotting American ships, cargo and goods.

Refuse to load or unload any American ship!

Refuse to touch anything arriving from or bound to United States of America!

Fellow-workers of all trades,—

Boycott tools made in the United States of America. Boycott American clothes, cigarettes, or anything made either in America or by American concerns here in England!

Declare a world-wide boycott on the United States of America until every political prisoner is released from the gaols and guarantee is given that the cold-blooded murder of members of our class shall be stopped.

An injury to one is an injury to all.

On behalf of the General Defence Committee,

N. G. SODERBERG
(Card No. 1384, B.A.).

THE "HERALD" AND THE SCOUTS.

In the "Daily Herald" recently the following sentences occur in the course of a leading article on "Boy Soldiers": "In many places where the non-military ideas of Sir Robert Baden-Powell are put into practice the Boy Scout Movement gives splendid opportunities for boys to keep fresh and fit. Boy Scouts are not boy soldiers, and the passion for turning out boy soldiers is a piece of the dismal, deluded psychology that makes war seem natural and inevitable."

The "Herald" is supposed to exist for the propagation of the ideals of a "new social order" of a Socialistic kind. Sir Robert Baden-Powell is reported to have said recently, speaking of what he described as "the Bolshevist and other forces of disruption," that the "Bolshevist emissaries had found that the two most serious obstacles in the way of disunion in the land were ex-Service men and the Boy Scouts."

Sir Robert Baden-Powell believes that the Boy Scout Movement is a bulwark against Socialism, and the "Herald" evidently believes the Boy Scout Movement is an excellent organisation. In case it may be said that we have misinterpreted the founders of the Scout Movement, let us turn to the "Scout Law," which includes the following:

"2. A Scout is loyal to the King, and to the officers, and to his parents, his country, his employers, and those under him."

"7. A Scout obeys orders of his parents, patrol leader, or scoutmaster, without question."

It is surely not in these terms that a Socialist states his faith! Will not the Herald" do a little logical thinking and refrain from boosting movements alien to the spirit and practice of Socialist principles?

E. B.

The Benevolence of America.

Our Labour and Independent Labour contemporaries, together with many guileless persons, are looking hopefully to the United States to help Europe out of its troubles. There is a "great benevolence" in the States, we are told, but also a great determination not to assist whilst Europe wallows in militarism." Mexico, Haiti, San Domingo, Nicaragua, and Panama have all something to say about the benevolence of America.

THE NICARAGUAN ADVENTURE.

In his book, "Shall it be Again?" Mr. John Kenneth Turner tells how the United States organised a revolution in Nicaragua through the medium of Adolf Diaz, previously bookkeeper to a Pittsburgh mining company. Diaz provided 600,000 dollars to conduct his revolution, but the revolution failed to prosper. Then on December 1st, 1909, the American Secretary of State, Knox, broke off relations with Nicaragua and took the part of the revolution on account of the execution of two American filibusters who had been caught trying to blow up a vessel laden with Nicaraguan troops.

Zelaya, the President, fled when he knew that America had taken sides against him, and the Nicaraguan Congress elected Dr. Jose Madriz to succeed him. The Nicaraguan troops now drove the revolutionary troops into the seaport of Bluefields, but United States troops were landed there to protect them; and presently with American aid they conquered the Government troops and took possession of the capital of Nicaragua.

The Bankers Come In.

Immediately the United States Government sent thither Thomas G. Dawson, who had been proposed by the New York banking syndicate, for the benefit of which all this was proceeding. Dawson had previously acted in the same capacity for United States bankers in Saint Domingo, and later performed a similar service in Honduras.

The Dictatorship.

It was now agreed that Diaz should be vice-president and Estrada, the military head of the revolution, should be president. A packed Congress was elected under the direction of American marines, to adopt a constitution framed by the bankers; but, packed as it was, the Congress refused to obey. It was therefore dissolved, and Estrada ruled as a dictator, until he received American Government orders to leave, which he did, Diaz becoming president.

American forces continued pouring into Nicaragua to fight the Nicaraguans, and in October 1912 the organised resistance of the people was at length broken down.

Wilson Follows Suit.

Says Mr. Turner:

"All this was done without a shadow of legality. It was murder in the first degree, for which the then President of the United States ought to have been impeached and indicted. Had Woodrow Wilson, on becoming President, entertained any real regard for any of the democratic principles by which he professed to be guided in the European War, or even for his own oath of office, he would at once have recalled our forces from Nicaragua, and denounced and repudiated the purposes for which they were sent there. Instead, he kept our marines in that 'sister republic' and proceeded to carry out the purposes for which they were sent there by Taft."

Inter-Oceanic Communication.

Readers must remember that Nicaragua is one of those small States between North and South America, which form a narrow strip of land dividing two oceans. The independence of Panama was destroyed by the United States in order that it might control the Panama Canal, and the people of Nicaragua are also subjugated in order that United States Capitalism may monopolise any inter-oceanic communications through their land.

The Canal Convention.

The "Canal" Convention ratified by the Senate, February 18th, 1916, cedes to the United States the following things:

1. Exclusive proprietary rights to construct, operate, and maintain, for ever free from all taxation and public charges, an inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua.

2. Lease of the Corn Islands on the Atlantic side, 99 years, with option of renewal, for the purpose of a naval base.

3. Lease of territory on the Gulf of Fonseca, Pacific side, 99 years with option of renewal, for the purpose of a naval base.

The Bogus Payment.

"In consideration whereof, Nicaragua purports to receive 3,000,000 dollars. Actually, the money gets no nearer Nicaragua than a bank in New York. The Convention provides that it cannot be drawn without authority from the American Secretary of State. In the working out of the scheme the money remains in the hands of a New York banking syndicate, which never renders any adequate return for it, either to the United States, which paid it out, or to Nicaragua, which is supposed to receive the benefit of it."

In the Hands of the Receiver.

When Zelaya was driven from office by United States pressure, Nicaragua was solvent, the foreign debt was only 2,500,000 dollars, the railways were owned by the Government, the Nicaraguan Republic was independent. When the conquest was completed through the bogus revolution, Nicaragua was permanently in the hands of a receiver, with a debt in the neighbourhood of 15,000,000 dollars; the railways were in the possession of American bankers; the same bankers collected and disbursed the Customs, owned the National Bank, and administered the public finances; legislation for the government of Nicaraguan citizens was framed in Wall Street, enacted at the direction of agents of Wall Street, and administered by Americans under control of an American banking syndicate.

"The 'Canal' Convention, ratified at the instance of President Wilson, established Nicaragua as a private financial preserve of a group of American bankers, and that was its primary purpose.

"It may be supposed," continues Mr. Turner, "that our financiers got possession of the Nicaraguan railroads, the banks, the Customs, etc., by loaning to Nicaragua large sums of money, which the latter was unable to pay; that intervention was undertaken to enforce payment of such debts.

A Speculative Opportunity.

"Nothing as innocent as that. Previously to the Diaz-Estrada plot, according to their own testimony, the bankers did not have a penny invested in Nicaragua. Their entire interest was based upon the speculative opportunity furnished by the defenceless condition of the little republic.

"Wall Street went in for revolution intervention, and political control in Nicaragua as a business proposition purely—prompted by the same motives which later caused it to go in for intervention in Europe. The scheme had been tried in Santo Domingo—and it worked. It had been tried in Honduras—and it worked. Later it was to be tried in Haiti. The ambition is ultimately to put the same system in operation in Mexico.

"As soon as Adolfo Diaz was well on his way to the palace, we find our bankers acquiring bogus claims upon Nicaragua, and, at the same time, drafting in their offices a convention legalising such claims, to be presented at Washington for solemn approval and ratification.

The Emery Claim Scandal.

"The first big claim acquired was known as 'the Emery claim.' For twenty years the George D. Emery Company had exploited a concession which had netted it 186,000 dollars a year. Zelaya finally revoked the concession on the ground of gross violation of its terms. Emery then put in a claim based, not upon investment, but upon the profits expected during a period of years to come. The claim was so preposterous that any honest court would have denied it forthwith. The bankers bought the Emery claim cheap—for less than 100,000 dollars, it was said. The bankers then tagged the claim with a valuation of 500,000 dollars, and at that price it was saddled upon Nicaragua with the consent of both Taft and the Wilson Administrations.

Another Bogus Payment.

"As originally written (in 1911), the Nicaraguan Convention, known as the Knox-Castrillo Convention, purported to provide a loan of 15,000,000 dollars to Nicaragua. But an examination of the document discloses the fact that Nicaragua was not to receive the money: on the contrary, that the bankers were to 'expend' it. We discover, indeed, that the bankers were never to pay out any such sums as 15,000,000 dollars; that such sums as they paid out were to be paid chiefly to themselves; first, to liquidate the Emery and other claims, and, second, to 'develop the country,' to establish a bank, which they themselves should own, and to improve the National Railway, which they themselves should control, operate, and later own. The bankers were also to receive a concession to build a new railroad, upon their own terms, at the expense of Nicaragua, the property to be controlled, operated, and owned by themselves.

"Finally, the 15,000,000 dollars was to be paid out, but—by Nicaragua. The bankers were to collect the Customs, and disburse therefrom the sums needed to meet their claims' and 'improvements,' after which they were to pay out of this national revenue 15,000,000 dollars and interest to themselves—to liquidate a loan that they had never made except on paper.

Dollar Diplomacy.

"But, by the election of 1910, Congress went democratic. The Knox-Castrillo Convention was defeated by the Democrats; and there was some denunciation of it as dollar diplomacy. Nevertheless, its worst features went into operation under a protectorate formally entered into by the Wilson Administration.

More Bogus Loans.

"Mr. Taft's honourable Secretary of State and the banking syndicalists did not, indeed, permit their scheme to be greatly hampered by the Senate. Following the example of Roosevelt in the case of Santo Domingo, they proceeded to put the terms of their Convention into operation without indulging in the motions of legality. For the paper loan of 15,000,000 dollars, however, was substituted a temporary loan of 1,500,000, which, again, was not to be paid to Nicaragua, but expended by the bankers, who agreed to 'recognise' the National Bank, 51 per cent. of the stock to be owned by the bankers, 49 per cent. by the Nicaraguan Government.

"In 'consideration' of this 'loan,' the bankers were given a mortgage on the Government's share of the bank, a mortgage on the Government's railway, a lease for the operation of the Government's railway, a lien upon the Customs, authority to negotiate a settlement of the Ethelburga 'debt,' a contract for the 'reform' of the currency, and various other little things of solid financial value. . . .

The Ethelburga Debt.

"The settlement of the Ethelburga 'debt' is worth a word. The bona-fide foreign debt of Nicaragua was only 2,500,000 dollars. Two and a quarter millions of this sum had been

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

Shall Parliament Meet?

As you know, fellow-workers, the talking-shop has decided to remain silent till February 13th; but now some impatient people are clamouring for it to reopen at once. They nope that the talking-shop may find work for the unemployed.

The talking-shop will talk, you may be sure, fellow-worker, and the Labour Members will make such eloquent speeches on your benalf that your hearts will glow with gratitude; out you need not expect much more than that from the talking-shop, Mr. Workless. Mr. Bonar Law and the other crusted Tories will, of course, express their sympathy, and will assure you that they see signs of a trade revival on the horizon. More than that we cannot advise you to anticipate, Mr. Workless, for we would not deceive you by filling your head with false hopes.

Two things may put an end to unemployment, fellow-workers.

One of these is war.

The other is revolution.

Which will you choose, fellow-workers and workless? Shall it be the trenches in Europe, or the Soviets in Britain?

You will remember, fellow-workers, that during the Bigland-Bottomley exposures, Bigland was alleged to have said to Bottomley: "Let me come into your stable?" When the workers or the workless ask a Capitalist Government to help them, they are saying just that.

"Let us come into your stable: we know it is a filthy place and that its doings are very wicked; but we are shivering out here in the cold. We lack the courage to pull down your dirty old stable and build a new habitation for ourselves."

When the rich hear such words they are pleased: they permit you to take shelter in the doorway of their stable, and if you have come marching from Scotland they allow the Guardians of the poor to let you sleep on the hard floor of a Poplar swimming bath, or a cold and dismal church.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

Those who are appealing for American "help" for Europe should consider the "help" that the United States Government and financiers have already given to other countries. They should also study the methods by which American financiers deal with the people of their own country. From such "help" as this Europe should pray to be defended.

ANTI-WAR RECITAL.

Thursday, January 18th, 6 to 10 p.m., at the Builders' Labourers' Hall, 84 Blackfriars Road.

A Message to Mothers, brought from their dead sons by Clara Gilbert Cole.

Flashlights on the War, written by Clara Cole, acted by Mrs. Bhat, Miss Hammerton, Mr. W. Abel, Mrs. Sweetlove, and Mrs. Bowyer.

Reading by Sylvia Pankhurst.

Recitations by Dr. Bhat, Norah Smyth, and others.

Music.

Admission free. Collection to pay for hall.

Tea at moderate prices, 6 to 7.30.

Recital, 7.30 to 10 p.m.

A PROTEST MEETING,

organised by the Libertarian Group, Against the Fascist Dictatorship and the Betrayal of the Workers' Cause by the Italian Social-Democrats, will take place on Sunday, January 14th, 1923, from 3 to 6 p.m., at the

INTERNATIONAL SPORTING CLUB,
9 Noel Street, Wardour Street, W. 1.
Speakers:
In English: Sylvia Pankhurst.
In Italian: Vittorio Tamberelli, Pietro Gualducci.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

An Open Conference on the International Crisis!

Sunday, January 14th, 4 to 7 p.m., in
Emily Davidson Club,
Minerva Cafe,
144 High Holborn
(Entrance in Bury Street).
To act against
British Imperialism in Mesopotamia
and
French Imperialism in the Ruhr.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Central London Group, 4th International,
WELLINGTON RESTAURANT,
Fleet Street (opposite "Dreadnought" Office),
Tuesday, January 16th, 7.30 p.m.,
LECTURE,
By Mr. E. Ames,
On "The Llano Colony in America."
Chair: Sylvia Pankhurst.
Admission free. Collection.

לעזם אן פארשפריים דעם

ארבעטער פרײנד

אנארכיסטיש-קאמוניסטישער ארגאן
רעדאקטירם פון דרי י. מ. זאלקינד.
ערשיינט צווי וועכענטלאך.
אייניצעלנער נומער 2ס. א קאפיע.
אבאנאמענט:
יערלאך 6ש, אין אמעריקא 1.50 ד.
צו שרייבן:
"WORKERS FRIEND"
163, Jubilee Street, London, E. 1.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.
Central London Group meets Thursdays, 152 Fleet Street, 8 p.m. For Group business, 9 to 10 p.m. Speakers' class and study circle, open to non-members, taken by Sylvia Pankhurst. Secretary, S. Cahill, 60 Limes Grove, Lewisham, S.E. 13.

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taken up in a refunding scheme, negotiated in England just before the expulsion of Zelaya, known as the Ethelburga Syndicate Bonds. Had this scheme g ne through, it would have made the foreign debt amount to 6,472,689 dollars. But Nicaragua had never received any money on this deal. Moreover, there were irregularities which placed the Ethelburga bonds in the fraudulent class. At least this was the contention of the bankers, who offered to submit the matter to the British Courts. The Ethelburga Syndicate did not wish to fight, and a settlement was arranged, not between the Syndicate and the bankers acting for Nicaragua, but between the Syndicate **and the bankers acting for themselves.**

"In other words, the bankers acquired control of the Ethelburga business—cheap. The charge was made by Senator Smith, of Michigan, that they acquired the bonds for 25 cents on the dollar. These bonds were grafted upon the public debt of Nicaragua at par, 0,250,000 dollars, with the approval of both Taft and Wilson. The bankers proceeded to pay principal and interest to themselves out of the Customs receipts of the republic.

"Another item of interest is 'our' 'reform' of the Nicaraguan currency. The bankers drew upon their 1,500,000 loan to buy up for themselves, as private business men, the national paper at the existing market value, between 15 to 1 and 20 to 1. Then, as 'fiscal agents of the Nicaraguan Government, they put into effect an arbitrary exchange rate of 12½ to 1, unloaded at this figure, and so turned over a cool profit of trom 25 to 75 per cent. on every 'reformed' Nicaraguan peso.

Another Little Loan.

"While the reforming was going on, the bankers 'loaned' Nicaragua an additional half-million dollars for sixty days, to facilitate the job. On this half-million they collected a profit of 60,000 dollars, above interest, based upon the difference in the value of the Nicaraguan peso at the time they 'loaned' themselves the money and the time they 'repaid' it.

Bankers Seize the Railways.

"In due course the bankers exercised their option to 'purchase' a majority of the stock of the National Railway. Although it had been a paying investment, and although Zelaya had refused 4,000,000 dollars for it, the bankers acquired control of the Nicaraguan National Railway for 1,000,000 dollars. Again, Nicaragua did not receive a cent. The Syndicate simply made a paper payment to one of its New York banks, announcing that the 'money' would be held against the 'debts' it was rolling up against Nicaragua

A "Big Brotherly Scheme."

"The Press informed us, from time to time, that the chief purpose of the intervention and the financial deals connected with it, including the canal 'purchase,' was a part of a big brotherly scheme to 'assist' Nicaragua to get on its feet financially. It is apparent instead, that the deliberate purpose, from the start, was to bankrupt Nicaragua for the benefit of our international bankers.

"Had President Wilson actually cared to 'put Nicaragua on its feet' and wanted the Canal route besides, he would have recommended that Nicaragua be paid in cash what the Canal route was worth, with the stipulation that Wall Street get its blood-money and be kicked out of the country. But 'business Presidents' do not do that sort of thing. Instead, in October 1916, Wilson permitted the bankers to take over the internal revenues, completing their control of Nicaragua's income and finances.

Wilson Flouts an International Peace Court.

"Finally, the terms of the Canal 'purchase' and naval base 'leases' were found to conflict with rights which Nicaragua's immediate neighbours shared with her on the Gulf of Ponseca, and the convention was ratified over the protests of Costa Rica, Salvador, and Honduras. Immediately afterwards, Costa Rica and Salvador brought suit against Nicaragua in the Central American Court of Justice, which had been set up in 1907 at the instance of the United States Government to obviate future wars among the Central American republics. The decision was against Nicaragua, and required the latter to repudiate the Convention. This Wilson would not permit Nicaragua to do Thus our own Government was the first to flout the judgments of an international peace court which it had assisted to set up, and whose decisions, inferentially, at least, it had bound itself to respect.

Putting on the Screw.

"This brief statement of Walter Bundy Cole, personal representative in Nicaragua of our bankers, explains the acceptance of the bankers' regime by the people of Nicaragua. Also, it partially explains the bankers' sure and perfect mastership over the native Government.' Should the dummy in the Palace become restive, he is quickly brought to terms by a simple threat to withdraw and leave him to the vengeance of his countrymen.

"Another form of discipline applied by the bankers is to withhold salaries until their commands are fully complied with. The President of the sovereign republic of Nicaragua was at times found humbly begging his wages of American financiers."